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VENETIAN PAINTINGS IN THE UNITED STATES : PART THREE · BY BERNHARD BERENSON

WE have now dealt with that branch of Venetian painting which clung to Byzantine craftsmanship even after it had deserted the more obvious characteristics of Byzantine art. But before we proceed to study the main current of Quattrocento painting in Venice—almost wholly derived, as it was, from Continental Italian sources—it will be convenient to give our attention to an infiltration from Sicily, which had, according to early contemporary accounts, no small effect upon the art of the Island City. Unfortunately it is not easy to measure this influence now. The epoch-making masterpieces that Antonello da Messina left in Venice have disappeared, and with them the chief documents for the study of the changes, amounting almost to a revolution, that were traced to his visit. It would be extremely interesting to take the one course remaining open and to examine minutely the residuum that is left over in Venetian painting after all that the Vivarini and the Bellini contributed had been deducted, and to compare this residuum with the indisputable works of Antonello and his pupils and followers. The solution of few problems in Italian art would contribute more illuminating results, provided it were undertaken by a scholar of long experience, armed with inexhaustible patience and endless leisure.

Happily we are not at this juncture called upon to be put to the proof. Our humbler task is to study the pictures of the great Sicilian master that have come over to America, as well as those of his pupils and followers and obvious imitators, whether Sicilian, Venetian or South Italian.

I.

Antonello himself is represented in America by two busts, one in the Johnson and the other in the Altman Collection. Mr. John G. Johnson's "Portrait" (Fig. 1) is already well known. It repre-

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sents a full-fleshed, broad-faced, smooth-shaven young man, with strong nose and sensitive, sensual, determined mouth, who looks out at us with agreeable curiosity, and does not resent being looked at in return. But, as in nearly all the portraiture of the Quattrocento—as, indeed, in nearly all great portraiture of any time—the sitter here makes no appeal for admiration or sympathy. He is there for you to study; and if he has secrets, he is not secretive; pay out line enough to plumb him, and he will not seek to elude you.

So much for the human presentment. Plastically, the planes could scarcely be larger and simpler, or the contour more supple. With the drapery falling down from the folded cloth cap, Antonello produces the effect of conical mass which he constantly strove for, and realized so impressively in Mr. Robert Benson's "Madonna" and in the "Virgin Annunciate" at Munich. Indeed, all that is most characteristic of the great Sicilian, in his brief years of complete realization, is amply revealed by this powerful head.

The Altman "Portrait" (Fig. 2) is perhaps more attractive. It is of a youth with a Luinesque face and a look and smile saved from being like Luini's by the sobriety and self-restraint of the painter. It is probably only the resistance a pretty face like this opposes to artistic values that accounts for the slight inferiority of this painting to Mr. Johnson's picture.

As it is less well known, it may not be amiss to place it in line with Antonello's other works. The nose is drawn and modelled as in the Louvre and Borghese "Heads," and the mouth as in the Cefalù "Portrait," the Benson "Madonna" and the Munich "Virgin Annunciate." The likeness in contour and plastic treatment to the Johnson "Head" need not be insisted on. From all these indications, we can be fairly certain that the Altman "Portrait" dates from Antonello's maturest period. We get further support for this view from the closer resemblance in the hair to the so-called "Humanist" of the Milan Castello (certainly a late picture) than to any other of Antonello's portraits, as well as from the curious Luinesque aspect of the sitter. Is it too fanciful to suppose that this pretty type of face really existed in the Milan of that time, before Leonardo went there, and before Luini was born? If the youth were Milanese, then we could assume that he sat for Antonello during the artist's sojourn in Milan in 1476.



FIG. 1. ANTONELLO DA MESSINA: PORTRAIT.
Collection of Mr. John G. Johnson, Philadelphia.



FIG. 2. ANTONELLO DA MESSINA: PORTRAIT.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Altman Collection.

II.

Antonello, while great in portraiture, was no less great in composition. Much as we admire his heads, we admire even more such subjects as the Syracuse "Annunciation," the Antwerp "Crucifixion," the Correr "*Pietà*" and the National Gallery "St. Jerome." Like the portraits, they hold the attention by the inexhaustible stimulus of the essential art values, and they add to these, symphonic effects of orchestration, as it were, that relax and repose. Fortunate should we be if one of these rare treasures were to be enjoyed on this side of the Atlantic. But it is not the case. The one composition ascribed to him, Mr. Frick's "*Pietà*" (Fig. 3) (usually exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum), is not by him or by any other Italian. It is almost certainly, as MM. Hulin and Vitry declared years ago,¹ by a Provençal painter. Seeing, however, that Mr. Frick's picture has slipped into the new Murray edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle as by Antonello, so that the authority of that time-honoured but seldom trustworthy guide may impose upon students, it will be worth while to discuss the attribution here.

Let us, to begin with, make ample acknowledgment to the fascination of this "*Pietà*." It has a poetry and a pathos, a restraint and a distinction that place it among the masterpieces of imaginative art. The painter, knowing the emotional effect produced by a silhouetted horizon seen at a certain distance, has used it as an enveloping background for the dominant masses, behind which he places huddled and hushed figures that add to the sense of awe and suspense. The shaft of the central Cross dominates the horizon, its mysterious incompleteness accentuating the touching humanity of the Magdalen fondling the hair thrown back from the head of the dead Christ, and the other crouching Mary sobbing in her close-wrapped cloak. The great sheet that extends under the folds of His Mother's mantle carries and unites all the figures, except that of the kneeling Donor, who remains of purpose outside the group as a piteous and devout spectator. No doubt there is an insistent though vague perfume of Venice in this picture. Close analysis reduces it, in any definite form, to something as little as the recollection, in the figure of the Magdalen, of the Blessed Virgin in Bellini's great Brera "*Pietà*." True, the masterful combination of figures,

¹ Hulin in "Catalogue Critique" of Bruges Exhibition, 1902 (No. 32, p. 9). Vitry in *Les Arts*, April, 1904, p. 42. In the catalogue of the "Primitifs Français" exhibition of 1904 (p. 40, No. 84), Bouchot wrote that it might be the work of a Fleming painting at the foot of the Alps.

buildings and landscape to produce a definite emotional appeal is very Venetian, although of a later date than the probable one of this picture, for it only comes to completion with Giorgione.

It was a tradition to think of Antonello da Messina directly we felt a something Venetian in a Quattrocento work of Northern character; but how much that is specifically and solely Antonello's does the Frick "*Pietà*" contain? The answer is "Nothing at all," and I will now attempt to justify this answer.

In the first place, Antonello was not an imaginative artist. As was the case with Piero della Francesca and Velasquez, his greatness consisted in presenting objects more directly, more penetratingly, more connectedly and more completely than we could see them for ourselves, and not in making a dramatic or moving arrangement of his vision that might make a further appeal to our emotions. He was more bent upon extracting the corporeal than the spiritual significance of things, and while he at times, and not very successfully (as in the "*Ecce Homo*" at Piacenza, and the other in Baron Schickler's Collection), attempted to portray the emotion of others, he invariably refrained from conveying his own or trying directly to affect ours. Call to mind his Antwerp "*Crucifixion*." The crucified figures to right and left, although suggested by Franco-Flemish models intended to evoke a strong emotional response, have in his hands become the occasion for the painting of firm, supple, youthful nudes in attitudes singularly suited to display tactile values and movement. The Mother of Our Lord and the Beloved Disciple appeal for no sympathy in their grief. Our Lord on the Cross has none of the tender and exquisite pathos of Mr. Frick's Dead Christ. The landscape does not transport us, but rather, like all objective works of art, unobtrusively draws us into itself. And, with differences, the same is true of the London "*Crucifixion*," and even of the ruined but sublimely designed "*Pietà*" in the Correr Museum at Venice.

In other terms, the music of Mr. Frick's picture is more equivalent to Beethoven than to Bach. Closer analysis makes the distinction clearer. In Antonello the feeling for tactile values is almost at its highest, while in this work it is indifferent and far inferior to the imaginative conception. It is almost absurd to think of Antonello in the presence of such dubious drawing and petty planes as we find in the faces here, the Madonna's in particular. It is no less difficult to recognize in the stiff, dry nude, with its trivial realism and ugly extremities, the Antonello who painted the almost classically plastic



Fig. 3. PROVENÇAL: PIETÀ.
Collection of Mr. Henry Clay Frick, New York.



Fig. 4. PALERMITAN FOLLOWER OF ANTONELLO DA MESSINA:
PORTRAIT OF A LADY REPRESENTED AS S. ROSALIE OF PALERMO.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.



Fig. 5. PALERMITAN FOLLOWER OF ANTONELLO DA MESSINA: MADONNA
AND CHILD.
Salting Bequest, National Gallery, London.



"St. Sebastians" at Dresden and Bergamo, or the crucified figures at Antwerp. Furthermore, in no period of his career as it is known to us was Antonello so Northern, not even in his National Gallery "Head of Christ," his earliest extant work. There, he is as Flemish in type as he is in technique, but the plastic sense and the touch remain Italian—*italianissimo*.

Nor is the detail in Mr. Frick's panel specifically Antonellesque, nor, even, in the last analysis, Italian. The folds of the sheet and of the Virgin's mantle come nearest to Antonello, but how unfunctional they are compared with his. The superficial likeness is due to the fact that both painters have taken their system of draperies from common Northern tradition; but Antonello never fails to Italianize them and to impart to them the quality of his firm, purposeful drawing. The pendent figures upon the crosses may be accounted for by the same common traditional origin. The huddled weeping woman, on the other hand, is surely a daughter of some Burgundian *pleureuse*, and the mountain landscape I have seen in many a picture in the Southeast of France. As for the town, with its steep Gothic church, I cannot believe an unprejudiced and instructed eye would see in it an Italian invention.

On the other hand, this masterpiece of imaginative art does undeniably exhale a perfume of Italy. Such Italianism was not infrequent in Provence and the Niçois. How Siennese and close to Sassetta was Jacques Durandi, and how reminiscent of Venice was the later and inferior Antoine Ronzen. So everything brings us back to the conclusion already arrived at by M. Hulin and M. Vitry, than whom Flemish and French Quattrocento paintings have no more able students. They rightly pointed to a "Nativity with Bishop and Donor" at Vignon as a work of closely similar origin.¹

III.

I suspect that a picture like Mr. Frick's would never have been attributed to Antonello if it had not been the common assumption that he was all but a Fleming who happened to be working in Italy. And it is to be feared that such errors will keep reappearing until the exact origins of Antonello and his entire chronology can be firmly established. Documents found in Sicily have already aided us unexpectedly with most important information; saving us also

¹ See *Les Arts*, April, 1904, p. 37. There, on the two next pages but one, are reproduced two French "*Pietàs*" which have significant points of contact with Mr. Frick's.

from a cataract of misinformation just then poured out by other documents found at Venice. Although obviously not applicable, the latter, had they been taken at their first valuation and not relegated to their proper place by other information, would have thwarted all efforts to set the Antonello problem straight.¹ Sicilian scholars may again succeed in discovering archives which will still further help us out. Much, too, may be expected from a more systematic study than has yet been made of Sicilian painting during the whole fifteenth century. And, as this, like all South Italian painting, was subjected to Aragonese influence, we may hope to get considerable assistance from the study of Catalanian painting, as well as the painting of Sardinia, which it so largely influenced, and of Provençal art, to which it was so closely related.

A picture of the kind (Fig. 4) which may ultimately serve such studies is to be seen in Mr. Walters' Collection at Baltimore. It is the bust of a thoughtful young woman—perhaps of one just deceased—represented as a female saint intent upon her prayer-book. Two angels hold a jewelled crown over her blond head, and this crown is filled with roses. The colouring is rich, saturated and harmonious, with something of the juiciness of a Van Eyck.

Fortunately, another picture by the same hand is in existence, and one that helps to explain their origin. It is a "Madonna" (Fig. 5) that passed with the Salting Collection to the National Gallery. Here we have a much more massive, more powerful human type, but in other respects the two pictures are as close to each other as possible while remaining independent creations. As both are here reproduced, I shall not insult the student's intelligence by insisting on the identity of pictorial purpose and craftsmanship in both. They betray the spirit and handiwork of a painter of solid attainments and vigorous grasp, reinforced, perhaps, by a certain provincial self-sufficiency.

When the Salting picture first appeared, its mixture of Italian and Flemish traits, and its somewhat rustic heartiness, led many critics to regard it as by a Catalan, and a Catalan working in Sicily. Since the rediscovery of Antonello's "Annunciation" (now at Syracuse) and the publication of Mr. Benson's "Madonna" by Mr. Borenius as a work of Jacopo, Antonello's son, and by myself as An-

¹ La Corte-Cailler, "Antonello da Messina," 1903. Di Marzo, "Di Antonello da Messina," etc., 1903; "Nuovi Studi su Antonello," 1905. Dr. Ludwig, "Antonello da Messina und deutsche niederlandische Künstler in Venedig," 1902.



Fig. 6. ANTONIO DE SALIBA (?): MADONNA ENTHRONED.
Collection of Mr. Grenville L. Winthrop, New York.

tonello da Messina's own¹ there can be no further question that the Salting "Madonna" was painted in Sicily by some one, no matter from whence, who was acquainted with the work of Antonello. For not only in conception, but in treatment as well, we see the close relationship with the great master, and with the Benson "Madonna" in particular.

The Walters picture would seem the later of the two by a short interval, for it is at once less frankly "primitive" and farther away from Antonello. The fact that it represents a saint whom angels are crowning with roses,² intended probably to be St. Rosalie, the Patroness of Palermo, make it likely that the painter was connected with that capital. The technique, too, with its richer medium, leads one to a school closer to Catalonia than was Messina, and thus again to Palermo. The author of this and the Salting panel was probably an artist of that town who, in these two works, shows close contact with Antonello. For the present we can say no more. But, as no other of Antonello's Sicilian followers has anything like the vigour and accomplishment displayed by this artist, it were highly desirable to know more about him. It is a wish that can be realized only by discovering further works by the same hand.³

IV.

I am not acquainted with any other painting which, while certainly not by Antonello, comes as close to him as the small "Madonna Enthroned" (Fig. 6) belonging to Mr. Grenville Winthrop of New York. She sits in the foreground of a park-like landscape, on a spacious throne decorated with sphinxes, and holds little flowers on the flat palm of her hand. The Child on her knee pays no attention to her offering, but blesses with His right hand.

The proximity of the figure to Antonello's "Madonna" of 1473 is evident. The Virgin's open hand, the silhouette of the spreading folds, the platform itself—although less simple, less stiff, if you will—were, in the one, obviously suggested by the other. Her halo has the minute particularities of the halo of "St. Gregory" out of the same Polyptych. The Child, on the other hand, although par-

¹ *Rassegna d'Arte*, June, 1912; *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, March, 1913. See also Mr. Benson's admirable catalogue of his own collection.

² The whole motif is taken over from Antonello's "Madonna" of 1473 at Messina, and this head may represent a "Virgin Annunciate" crowned with roses. It is a most unlikely but not an impossible subject.

³ In the collection of Mr. John G. Johnson there is a "Madonna" (No. 161) by an unknown Sicilian master who resembles Antonio da Palermo.

taking of the same movement, is closer to the one in the Antonellesque "Madonna"¹ at Vienna, or to the odiously affected one in Jacopo d'Antonello's "Madonna" at Bergamo.

Although reminiscent of the "Madonna" of 1473, Mr. Winthrop's is clearly of somewhat later date. Except very faintly, in the shape of the platform, there is no trace of Gothic in the architectural forms, which, on the contrary, are elaborately Renaissance. The folds have lost their Flemish angularity and are rounder. The kerchief is worn as in Mr. Walters' "St. Rosalie" and its companion "Madonna" in the National Gallery.

We thus have in Mr. Winthrop's "Madonna" a little masterpiece of distinct Antonellesque inspiration, and it would be interesting to discover its author. If Prof. Toesca had not done Antonello's son, Jacopo, such a bad turn as proving him to be the author of a picture which shows him up as a simpering and affected submediocrity, one would naturally think of him.² But one dare not assume that, even after the lapse of ten or twelve years, the painter of a picture so simple and direct as Mr. Winthrop's could have declined to the dulcified and mannered "Madonna" at Bergamo. Possibly it was painted by some quite unknown painter, but we cannot resist the temptation to see whether another close follower of Antonello, his nephew, Antonio or Antonello de Saliba, could not have been its author.

Although Antonio de Saliba was, as documents state, the pupil of the great Antonello's son, Jacopo, who seems to have done nothing of consequence but transmit his father's influence, we find little in de Saliba's works that does not go back to Antonello himself or to the great Venetians of his time. He not only imitated Antonello

¹ This important work (Imperial Gallery, No. 89) was ascribed by me twenty-five years ago to Boccaccio Boccaccino. When publishing the "North Italian Painters," I inserted it with a question mark into the list of the "Pseudo-Boccaccino's" paintings. Directly afterwards I turned back, for the first time after twenty years, to the systematic and continuous study of the Venetians, and I soon perceived that this picture was intimately related to Antonello. As it was in lamentable condition, and had, indeed, been cut down even since it was copied by Teniers, I made every effort, before pronouncing an opinion upon it, to have it properly restored; but I fear that this may not be done soon under the present unfortunate circumstances. I may as well confess here and now to a faint hope that a picture which produces in ruin such an impression, and which entered the collection of the Archduke Leopold as a Bellini, i.e., as a Quattrocento picture from Venice of great value, may turn out to be a fragment of Antonello's famous S. Cassiano Altarpiece. Only the most serious students of Italian art can appreciate what a chasm the disappearance of that epoch-making work made in our history of Venetian painting, and how invaluable any attempt to fill it would be. Meanwhile Dr. Borenius published, in May, 1913, in the *Burlington Magazine*, his own independent conclusions regarding the Vienna picture, pointing out its probable affinities with Antonello's lost masterpiece.

² *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1911, p. 16. In the Bergamo Gallery: signed and dated 1490. In the inscription Jacopo boasts of being the son of a more than human painter, which is a tactful way of confessing that he knew his own place.



Fig. 7. ANTONIO DE SALIBA: MADONNA.
Collection of the late Theodore M. Davis, Newport, R. I.



Fig. 8. SOUTH ITALIAN: MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. Dan Fellows Platt, Englewood, N. J.

deliberately and closely, as in the Vienna "*Pietà*," but, as in the "Virgin Annunciate" of Venice, he copied him outright.

Comparison with other works undisputably by Antonio de Saliba—the "Madonnas" of Catania (1497), of Catanzaro (1508), of Spoleto, of Berlin (about 1488), of the Davis Collection at Newport (about the same date)—does not preclude the possibility that Mr. Winthrop's is an earlier work by the same hand. Neither the types nor the draperies, nor, least of all, the landscape, would oppose such a conclusion. A significant point in favour is the treatment of the wings of the sphinxes who form the supporting arms of the throne. As in de Saliba's "*Pietà*" at Vienna, these are painted with much display of feathers, and are not so generalized as in Antonello's Correr "*Pietà*" or in his "Announcing Angels" at Messina and at Syracuse. I may add that Mr. Winthrop's panel, when I first saw it, made on me a strong impression of being by de Saliba, and that I have learned to give, I venture to confess, a certain value to first and spontaneous impressions, as they generally represent almost unconscious and hence unprejudiced rapid syntheses of buried memories.

I am thus inclined to assume, with certain reserves, that this interesting and attractive panel was painted by Antonio de Saliba soon after the one in the Collection of the Princess Castellani Manganelli at Ragusa Inferiore in Sicily, and some years before the "Madonna of the Rosary" of 1489, which we hope was not destroyed by the last earthquake at Messina.

V.

A work by de Saliba of unquestionable authenticity, although not signed, is the "Madonna" (Fig. 7) already referred to in the collection of the late Theodore M. Davis, of Newport, R. I. Our Lady, an imposing, pyramidal mass towering over the horizon, worships the Child, who lies naked on a parapet playing at once with His coral amulet and the folds of her dress. She is more impressive than any other of this painter's Madonnas, thanks to a happy harmony of the Antonellesque sense for geometrical bulk with the Bellinesque feeling for the spiritually significant. Even the Berlin "Madonna" shows a decline from this height.

The Davis' "Madonna" would thus seem to have been the fruit of de Saliba's earliest maturity, following upon his first contact with Venice. If the Ragusa picture be his, and Mr. Winthrop's, these

betray no certain trace of Venetian influence. Here, on the contrary, it is manifest, although not so obvious as in the Berlin "Madonna," which, indeed, I suspect of being a free copy of a lost Bellini.

Mr. Robert Minturn, of New York, has a "Madonna," with regard to the authorship of which I am still in doubt. It was reproduced and briefly discussed in the *Rassegna d'Arte* for April, 1913, and there the opinion was expressed that, while bearing considerable resemblance to the one of the Davis Collection just presented, it was quite likely a more purely Bellinesque work.

On the other hand, the "Holy Face" in Mr. Johnson's Collection at Philadelphia is without a doubt Messinese, and I am inclined to give it to de Saliba, while admitting the possibility that it may be by his teacher and cousin, Jacopo. The curious will find it reproduced and discussed in Mr. Johnson's Catalogue.

VI.

A picture of large pattern and vigorous colouring (Fig. 8) in the collection of Mr. D. F. Platt, at Englewood, N. J., has always made on me the impression of being South Italian. My excuse for speaking of it here is that no South Italian picture painted between about 1480 and 1520 is entirely free from Antonellesque influence. Often enough it is hard to isolate and extract, but it is always there. And that is the case with Mr. Platt's "Madonna."

She sits in front of a parapet before a curtain, to right and left of which appears a rich landscape with fern-like trees. For one who cannot get the effect of the original, perhaps the most noticeable thing in this panel is its tendency to resolve itself into a series of three widening curves, containing the head, the shoulders and the mantle. This obviously geometrical tendency is of itself suggestive of Antonello and is paralleled in the Antonellesque "Madonna Enthroned" in the Cathedral at Syracuse. (Photo. Alinari 33342.) The hood resembles the one worn by Mr. Walters' "St. Rosalie." The billowing draperies, too, remind me of the "Announcing Angel" in Antonello's Polyptych at Messina, as well as of Salvo d'Antonio's "Dormition of the Virgin" and Rinaldo Quattarero's "Peter and Paul" at Palermo. Finally the luxuriance and featheriness of the landscape are to me distinctly Neapolitan.

By other critics, however, this picture has been ascribed to the Lombard school, and even to Boltraffio. No doubt the face has a



Fig. 9. ANTONIO SOLARIO: MADONNA AND SAINTS.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.



Fig. 10. FILIPPO MAZZOLA: MADONNA WITH JEROME AND A FRANCISCAN SAINT.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

certain likeness to Boltraffio's, and one who was determined to have the panel Lombard would find a resemblance in the draperies to Bramantino's. These I have already accounted for as Antonellesque, being ultimately, like Bramantino's, of Flemish origin, but the face, although heavier, is closer to the "Pseudo-Boccaccino's" (as, for instance, in the Murano Altarpiece) than to the type of any other Lombard, while, curiously enough, neither the draperies nor the landscape are unlike his. The Child, on the other hand, sturdy in frame, with His arms crossed over His chest, is unlike any pure Lombard Child that I can recall, but would be quite at home in Venice or the Romagna.¹

We may compromise and conclude that the author of Mr. Platt's picture was a painter of Antonellesque derivation, who in Venice came under the influence of the "Pseudo-Boccaccino" (Giovanni Antonio da Lodi), and, to make good measure, we may add that he may have been acquainted with Solario as well.

VII.

There happens to be a painter whose training was the exact opposite of the one I have imagined for the author of Mr. Platt's "Madonna." Instead of beginning in the South and ending in Venice, Antonio Solario began at Venice and ended in the South. He is but an asteroid recently presented to view. When this little luminary was first noticed, the spectroscope—if one may continue the astronomical metaphor—seemed to show the same rays as Andrea Solario, and one was inclined to believe that they were one and the same. But more and more works by this hand kept appearing, and finally Ettore Modigliani's study, published in the *Bollettino d'Arte* for December, 1907, convincingly showed that we had to do with a personality distinct from Andrea's. We could even trace his wanderings, from Venice to the March of Ancona, and thence to Naples, where he was the painter in chief of the fascinating, if unequal, series of frescoes in the cloister of SS. Severino e Sosio. His end is unknown.

In the Leuchtenberg "Madonna" acquired by Mr. Wertheimer, sold to the late Mr. Salting, and now in the National Gallery, and in the even earlier "Nativity" ceded by Dr. J. P. Richter to Herr Fritz von Gans of Frankfort, Antonio is so close to the Venetian

¹ He recurs in the "Pseudo-Boccaccino," who was more than half Venetian and strongly influenced by Antonello and Alvise Vivarini.

phase of his famous namesake, Andrea, that one might without disgrace, seeing the still fragmentary state of our knowledge, have failed to conclude that they were separate personalities. But other works, even apart from the consideration that they are signed, reveal the same artist drawing farther and farther away from Andrea, and show an increasingly Venetian character, while Andrea himself, as we know, grew more and more Lombard. In his travels South, Antonio—an artist, by the way, inferior to Andrea, of far more uncertain style and feebler attainments—picked up Romagnol and Umbrian traits, while at Naples a certain Southern lethargy invaded his never too alert spirit. There, too, he reverted to those Antonellesque influences from which his beginnings were not free, whether these were drawn from direct study of the great Sicilian himself, or from contact with the two Venetianized Lombards, Andrea Solario and the "Pseudo-Boccaccino," who surely inspired and perhaps accomplished his initiation. For these reasons he comes into our present survey.

The collection of Mr. Walters contains an important work of his (Fig. 9). It is an oblong panel wherein may be seen the Holy Child sitting on an inlaid casket resting on a pedestal, while He plays with a bird. His Mother supports Him, and a lady presents the infant Baptist, who clutches at His thigh. On the left is an elderly man represented as a pilgrim. The background consists of a curtain to left and a landscape to right. The woman and man are probably portraits. Not only are they individualized enough to be portraits, but the painter, although giving them in the composition the importance of saints, has left them without haloes.

One is hardly called upon to demonstrate that this panel is by Antonio Solario, for it is obvious to those who are acquainted with the Leuchtenberg "Madonna," now in the National Gallery, and the somewhat later one in the Naples Museum. With all the differences, the types retain the same Venetian features, and the landscape the same Lombard character. The Child is taken over with as little change as the difference of subject will permit from Bellini's "Presentation of the Holy Child in the Temple." These affinities, or borrowings, are what we expect from Antonio. The bird, too, attached to a string, occurs in the Leuchtenberg "Madonna," and is derived from a Bellinesque picture of which we have several variants. This picture of ours is, however, later than that, and than the Naples one, both of which we may confidently place before An-

tonio's sojourn in the Marches. Mr. Walters' painting is not only more largely but much more carelessly handled, as is the case with Antonio's frescoes at Naples, certainly his latest works. It can, moreover, be dated with fair proximity as toward 1511.

A brief paragraph must be devoted to this question of dates, as Antonio's chronology has not yet been carefully looked into, and without a proper chronology we can have no trustworthy connoisseurship and no history worth the name.

There exists in the Ambrosiana at Milan a signed work by Antonio, dated 1508, which is so obviously an imitation of his namesake, Andrea,¹ that one may assume a renewed contact between them. And, as Antonio was in the Marches till 1506, and Andrea, to our knowledge, never went there, we may assume that they met at Milan. This Ambrosiana "Head of the Baptist on a Charger" differs, quality apart, in one striking respect from Andrea's. It is more bejeweled, as one might expect from an artist subjected to provincial and Southern taste.² Now we discover a similar jeweled charger in a picture in the Doria Gallery representing "Salome" (Fig. 12), which, for this and other obvious reasons, is now universally accepted as Antonio Solario's. I used to ascribe this "Salome" to Michele da Verona, and the resemblance of her face to that painter's type is manifest. I am tempted to infer that, after such intimate contact with Andrea Solario as is displayed in the Ambrosiana "Head of the Baptist," Antonio stopped for a while at Verona, where, sensitive as he was to kindred inspiration, he did actually fall under the influence of Michele. I venture to believe that this suggestion will turn out fruitful for students who would pursue the subject further in Naples.³

Here we must return to the question of chronology, and argue that if the Doria "Salome" dates from soon after 1508, the Walters picture, which resembles it significantly, but is more loosely and even sloppily handled, must have been painted at least a year or two

¹ Louvre, No. 1533.

² Antonio's predilection for jewelry and jeweled ornament would be explained if he started as a jeweler. On page 38 of the tenth number of the *Bollettino d'Arte* for 1907 was announced the purchase of a "Madonna" supposed to be by Antonio Solario, and signed "Hoc opus fecit Antonius Aurifex de Venetiis." But as this picture, never exhibited and never published, has mysteriously disappeared, one is led to wonder whether, like a certain picture bearing the earliest signature of B. Vivarini, it was not of recent manufacture?

³ Kindred works by Antonio under the influence of Michele da Verona, and which I used to ascribe to Michele himself, are the two panels in the National Gallery (Nos. 646 and 647), representing "St. Catherine" and "St. Ursula." Their attribution as "Umbrian School" is no doubt a witness to the fact that they come from Central Italy, and would go to prove that Antonio painted them in the Marches after a visit North.

later, say in 1510. Perhaps it was a commission Antonio picked up on his way southward, possibly when again in the Marches, or conceivably when he was already in Naples.

VIII.

Antonello da Messina spent less than a year in Venice during his visit of 1475-6, but Venetian painting was never the same again. His pervasive influence, however, was naturally more visible and appreciable in treatment and technique than in type or composition. It is, in fact, far from easy to lay one's finger on anything more than accessory in a Venetian painting, which, when reproduced in black and white, will instantly recall Antonello. Where there is anything definite to recall him, it is apt to be in the work of men like Alvise Vivarini or Cima, whose interest and importance are far from being measured by the fact of this imitation. Even among the parasitic painters, it turns out, curiously enough, to be none of the artists who actually knew Antonello in Venice, but two painters from Parma, who probably knew only his pictures, whose chief interest lies in their intimate dependence upon the Southern master. These painters were Filippo Mazzola, of whom I must speak at some length, and Cristoforo Caselli, or Temperelli.

Mazzola, in his portraits, where he appears at his best, approaches Antonello more closely than any other artist except Alvise Vivarini, who deliberately imitated him. In his other pictures, conspicuously in his Agram "St. Sebastian" and his Budapest "St. Christopher," Mazzola leans upon the Sicilian master, but in his Madonnas and religious figures in general this influence gets more diffused. As Mazzola was born toward 1460 and Antonello never returned to Northern Italy after 1476, and as, moreover, the Sicilian influence in his works increases rather than diminishes till the end of his life, in 1505, it is reasonable to assume that he knew Antonello's works, though not their master, and that, on repeated visits to Venice, he may have become acquainted with Antonio and Piero de Saliba, and possibly with Jacopo, the son of Antonello.

It is to be regretted that none of Mazzola's most strikingly Antonellesque works, his portraits, are at hand for the present discussion.¹ Although it is a temptation to ascribe to him every tolerable Venetian portrait even vaguely recalling Antonello, we must resist

¹ Mr. George Breck owns a fine portrait of a young woman with the Castle of Ferrara in the distance. In the genuine cartellino may be doubtfully read the traces of Mazzola's signature, F. J. M.



Fig. 11. CRISTOFORO CASSELLI (?): ECCE HOMO.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.



Fig. 12. ANTONIO SOLARIO: SALOME.
The Doria Gallery, Rome.

it in the case of the only one of this description that falls within our scope, the pleasant head of an adolescent, belonging to Mr. D. F. Platt (reproduced in the *Rassegna d'Arte* for 1911, p. 148). As far as I know, there is no other portrait in our collections that could with the slightest plausibility be ascribed to Mazzola.

But we have, on the other hand, one religious subject which is certainly by him, and perhaps yet another, both in the gallery of Mr. Walters. The certain work is an oblong panel (Fig. 10) wherein we see the Madonna seated between St. Jerome and a Franciscan monk, holding the Child, who blesses with His right hand and clutches a bird in His left. The arrangement of the heads is conspicuously Bellinesque, and so is the St. Jerome as a type. The Virgin has perhaps an indefinable Antonellesque element in her face, although the oval and the expression have a certain tincture of the Morones of Verona, which, indeed, is visible in the head of the Franciscan as well. This scarcely comes as a surprise, for these same influences, along with that of the Vicentine Montagna, may be traced elsewhere in Mazzola.

The attribution of this "Madonna and Saints" to Mazzola is inevitable if one has clearly in mind his National Gallery picture (No. 1416), which so closely resembles it in general effect, or his Berlin Altarpiece of 1502, the nearest of all in details of types, draperies and action, with a Child that is almost identical. The study of his other works, whether at Parma or Corte Maggiore, or Naples, brings confirmatory evidence. I am inclined to believe that we may date it soon after 1502.

The picture in the same collection that I am doubtful about is a Madonna sitting in front of a curtain, beside a landscape of river and town, meadow and mountain, with the naked Child sprawling on her lap (Fig. 14). Even the reproduction conveys an idea of something pleasant, the Madonna being rather agreeable as mass and oval of face, and the landscape extremely attractive. The colour adds a good deal, with its soft, warm tones.

Perhaps it would not have occurred to one to ascribe this panel to Mazzola if one did not happen to have in mind a "Madonna" in Berlin (No. 1455, reproduced in the fully illustrated catalogue), the tone and technique of which seem the same. Now the Berlin picture is not only inscribed "F. M. P." in a hand we can recognize as Mazzola's, but the folds of the draperies, although a trifle

more Antonellesque than usual, are themselves as good as a signature. In the Berlin panel, the Virgin's face is distinctly reminiscent of Cima. The Walters picture goes much further in that direction, and the entire composition was clearly suggested by some such work of Cima's as the Louvre Altarpiece. Even the landscape is based upon a Cimaesque pattern. The Child's ear has all the peculiarities of Mazzola, as can be seen by looking at the other Walters picture we have just examined.

If I retain a doubt, it is due to the question of date. Mazzola died in 1505, and the type of the Madonna here imitated would seem to me unexpectedly advanced for a work painted by Cima at this epoch. On the other hand, Cima's chronology is not yet quite ascertained, so that we are not called upon to give this consideration too much weight.

It is with still more hesitation that I venture to introduce yet another picture in the Walters Collection as a possible work by Mazzola's fellow-townsmen, Cristoforo Caselli, who was moulded under the same Veneto-Sicilian influences. If I am mistaken, no great harm will be done. I record merely an impression for which I can offer no sort of proof.

The picture in question represents the "Ecce Homo" (Fig. 11). The Saviour is seen down to the waist, holding an elaborately jewelled cross in His pierced right hand, while His left is held up appealingly. The thorn-crowned, richly curled head looks up, showing far too much of the whites of the eyes. Behind extends a beautiful landscape, with the domes and towers of a town by a stream, and distant marble mountains.

The sentimental look slightly excuses the silliness of the old label which reads "Bolognese School, 17th Century." One need not be a clerk to see that, despite sentimentality, the conception is far closer to 1500 than to 1600, and that the tightness of the drawing and of the treatment is distinctly in the Quattrocento tradition. My reasons for guessing it to be by Cristoforo Caselli are too vague and too uncertain to be given. Something in the whole conception, the folds of the sash, the richly jewelled Cross and clasp, are not my reasons but my excuses for jumping to such a conclusion. If by him—and I trust the guess may prove well founded—he may have painted it as late as 1510.



Fig. 13. ANTONELLO DA SERRAVALLE: MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.



Fig. 14. FILIPPO MAZZOLA (?): MADONNA.
Collection of Mr. Henry Walters, Baltimore.

X.

In closing this chapter, I must mention yet another panel in the Walters Collection (Fig. 13). It is a very poor thing indeed, but yet not without a certain suggestion of grandeur. It represents the Madonna and happens to be signed "Antonellus Pinxit."

Needless to say this Antonellus is not the one of Messina. He is but a tenth-rate painter, happily rare, by whom we know one and only one other signed work, a fresco at Serravalle in the Friuli, dated 1485. Mr. Walters' picture makes a slight advance upon that one, and may be a few years later. Our profit in making this painter's acquaintance is to recognize him if we find him masquerading under another name. Our excuse for bringing him in here, apart from convenience, is that parochial pride and parochial presumption at one time maintained that he was identical with the great Sicilian. The panel before us offers merely a distorted reflex of the style of the Vivarini.

HOLBEIN'S CROMWELL · BY FRANK JEWETT MATHER, Jr.

THE portrait of Thomas Cromwell, which has recently passed from Tyttenhanger Park to Mr. H. C. Frick's New York residence, is too well known to need elaborate introduction. It is one of the most repellent of Holbein's works, and also one of the most masterly. One reads in the sinister yet formidable face and in the awkward yet aggressive attitude the entire character of the toady-tyrant who abetted the judicial murder of his benefactor, Sir Thomas More, while enduring the brutal manners of the King with doglike fidelity. One feels still the ungainliness of the blacksmith's son. He had sharpened his wits soldiering in the Italy of Machiavelli and Cæsar Borgia, hardened his heart by trading with the Northern barbarians, but he had not learned to be at ease. He is almost as pathetic as he is formidable. The very arrangement of the picture recalls and parodies such nobler Holbeins as the More and Erasmus. Such associations are the best commentary on the porcine shrewdness of this interpretation. It is the most pitilessly revealing of all Holbein's portraits, perhaps of all portraiture.

We need only note that the picture was painted when Cromwell's curve was still ascendant. The letter on the table is addressed "To our trusty and right welbiloved Counsailler Thomas Cromwell,

Maister of o' Jewelhouse." This title he received April 12, 1532. Early in 1534 he became First Secretary of State. In the interval this portrait was painted. Cromwell has not yet become master of England, but has grimly set his face that way. England will pay the price in suspicion, hate, and privy murder under legal forms. How the Lord Chancellor looked at his height of power, the damaged but still expressive miniature in the Morgan Collection shows. For this and other Cromwell portraits the reader may consult Lionel Cust's excellent article in the twentieth volume of the *Burlington Magazine*.

A curious fate has overtaken all the portraits of this well-loathed statesman. They are all more or less effaced, as if time itself bore a grudge against his memory. Recent careful cleaning has bettered the condition of the Frick portrait. The laudatory scroll with its Latin inscription which appears in all earlier reproductions has been removed, to the great gain of the composition. It was a posthumous addition of no consequence except as containing about the only surviving praise of the man. In eliminating it the restorer has merely confirmed the verdict of history. Modern criticism, in the person of Lionel Cust, has done Cromwell's memory an even greater disservice by robbing him of the noble crayon portrait at Wilton House. Despite its old inscription, it represents some other and better man. And, finally, as if to put the rising Master of the Jewelhouse in his proper moral perspective, across the chimney-piece, in Mr. Frick's new mansion, now hangs the grave and serene effigy of Holbein's Sir Thomas More.

CHARLES FRASER, THE FRIEND AND CONTEMPORARY OF MALBONE · BY ALICE R. HUGER SMITH

CHARLES FRASER, next to Malbone one of the greatest miniaturists of America, was the grandson of John Fraser, a Scotchman, who had settled in the State of South Carolina about 1700. He made his home in the country of the Yemassee Indians, and with his wife escaped, through the friendship of an Indian chief, the terrible massacre which commenced the great Yemassee War in 1715, when from Savannah to the Santee River the allied tribes spread death and devastation throughout the province. His son, Alexander, the father of the artist, married Mary Grimke, of a



MALBONE: HON. JAMES REID PRINGLE



FRASER: NIECE OF THE ARTIST
Painted in 1803

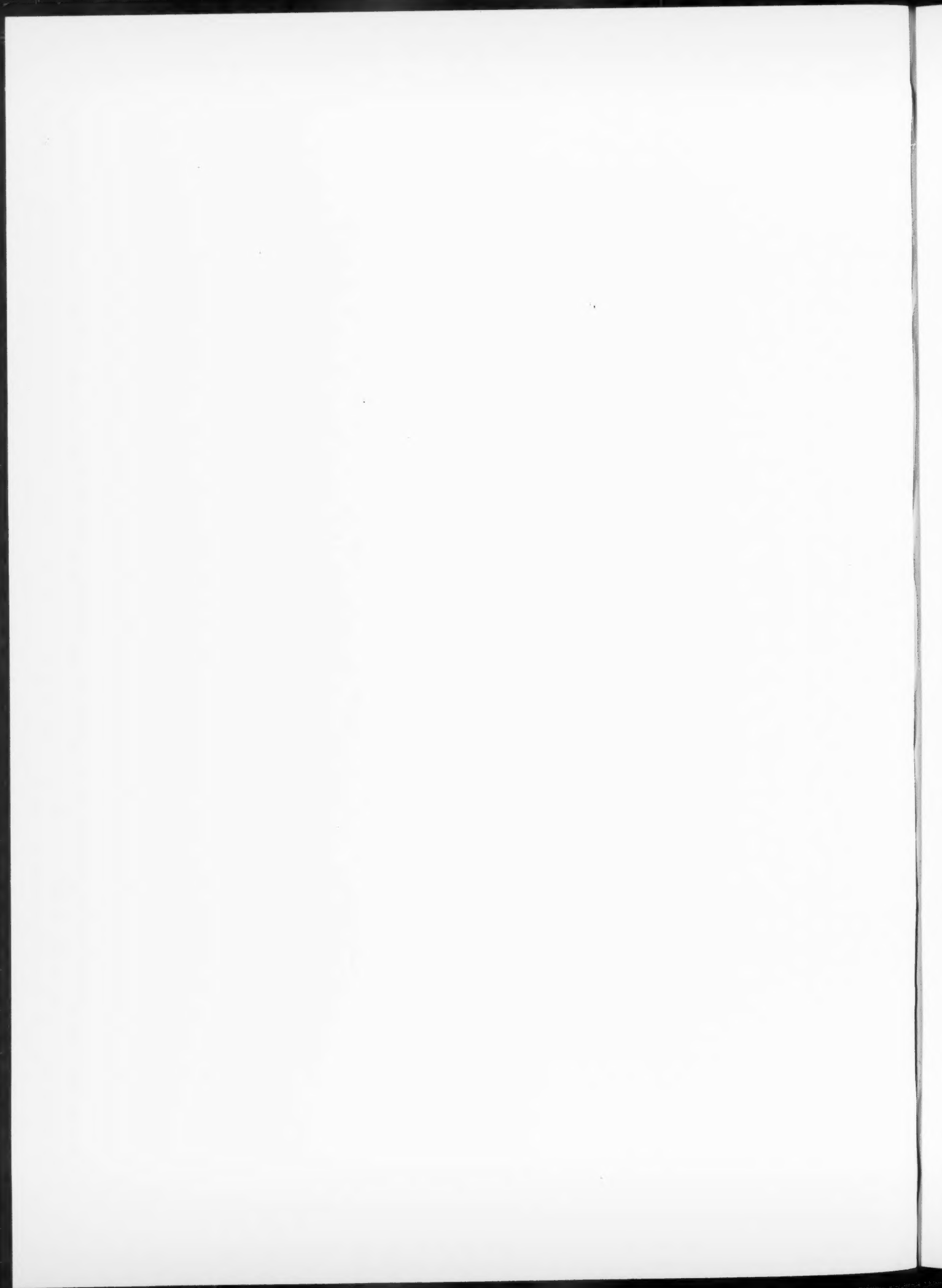


FRASER: PORTRAIT OF A GIRL



FRASER: JAMES REID PRINGLE—1823

CHARLES FRASER AND EDWARD G. MALBONE: MINIATURES.



well-known Carolina family. Her sister was the wife of John Rutledge, the so-called "Dictator" of South Carolina, to whom in 1780 the Legislature of that State delegated the "power to do everything necessary for the public good except taking away the life of a citizen without a legal trial," and who under this authority for two years of bloody war was himself the entire civil government of the State. Of his father's marriage there were fourteen children, of whom Charles was the youngest. He received his entire education in the City of Charleston, where he was called to the Bar in 1807, and where he practiced law until 1818.

But even during this period Art claimed his first allegiance. There exist miniatures and paintings executed by him as early as 1792, when he was only ten years of age. It was at this time that his boyish intimacy with Thomas Sully, the distinguished portrait painter, was beginning. By the time he reached manhood his miniatures had attained such a degree of excellence that they were already noteworthy. His portrait of a child (his little niece), painted in 1803, shows freshness and beauty of coloring and boldness of touch, but lacks the finish of his best work. This period of his artistic life seems of peculiar interest, for in 1800 Washington Allston returned from Harvard to Charleston, either bringing or followed closely by Malbone, who at once entered upon his professional work there, and the three became close friends. In 1801 Allston went to London, where he became a student in the Royal Academy, while in the same year Sully removed to Norfolk and painted his first miniature from life, one of his brother Chester, followed by his first oil painting in 1802.

The effect, one upon the other, produced by this early association of these four young painters, has been much discussed, but it cannot be questioned that his acquaintance with Malbone's work greatly benefited Fraser, for Malbone had already reached that eminence which he still retains among American miniature painters. Two of Malbone's productions of this date are the miniatures of Judge Daniel Elliott Huger and of his friend the Hon. James Reid Pringle. They show Malbone's invariable grasp of the individuality of his subject, and we can see in both portrayed the promise of the distinction that these young men achieved in after life. The former spent his life in the legislative and judicial service of his State, ending his public career in the Senate of the United States.

The latter, sometime President of the State Senate of South Carolina, was one of the small band of leading men whose strenuous opposition to the nullification movement of 1832 temporarily blighted their political lives.

It is interesting to compare this portrait by Malbone painted in 1800 with a miniature of Mr. Pringle painted about 1823 by Fraser. Malbone is happier than Fraser in his composition. The lower part of Fraser's miniature is heavy. Malbone most charmingly shows the brightness and gaiety of the young man, while Fraser brings out in the mature man the strength and reserve of twenty years of development. The difference between the two painters shown by these two portraits is characteristic, for the dash of Malbone is only exceptionally absent in his miniatures, and such dash only exceptionally present in Fraser's. It is found in Fraser's portrait of Edward Cotesworth Rutledge (later captain U. S. Navy), but is absent in that of John McPherson Pringle, a son of the James Reid Pringle mentioned above. The portrait of Lieut. Rutledge shows a spirit similar to that of Malbone. That of John McPherson Pringle shows the more usual poise and reserve of Fraser. Malbone has left us two specimens which lend themselves to similar comparison—those of Major James Ladson and his wife. Major Ladson was an officer of the Continental Line of South Carolina during the Revolution. His wife was a sister of William Loughton Smith, member of the first five Congresses of the United States, Minister to Portugal, and afterwards to Spain. Both pictures are fine examples of Malbone's skill. In that of Mrs. Ladson there is the delightful freedom of handling that we expect of Malbone, but this is not so noticeable in the miniature of her husband. Instead we find the quiet assured treatment suited to his subject—who was a man who had made his mark in life and made it well.

Fraser's miniatures of Mr. James H. Ladson (a son of the Major Ladson mentioned above) and of his wife, Ann Fraser, the artist's own niece, were painted in 1826. That of Mr. John Julius Pringle, a noted lawyer of his day to whom Jefferson offered the position of Attorney General of the United States, was painted nine years later, at which time Mr. Pringle's years exceeded four score. The artist had a marked gift for understanding and portraying the temperaments of his sitters, and not merely differences

of feature and type. In all the examples given, the character of the man or woman painted cannot be mistaken for an instant. This is true of all his work. His poorest miniatures as well as his best represent his subjects. Some of his work is weak in composition or careless in treatment, but none of it fails to show a grasp of individual character. Three portraits of women show this gift to a remarkable degree.

The girl of sixteen years is a delightful piece of color, with a freshness of youth and a brilliancy that is charming. The others are Mrs. William Allston, a daughter of Rebecca Motte of romantic fame, and Mrs. Prioleau, wife of the Samuel Prioleau who, during the Revolution, was held a state-prisoner at St. Augustine by the British. These two old ladies, posed somewhat alike, are striking, each in her own way.

When the Marquis de La Fayette visited Charleston in 1825, Fraser was commissioned by the City to paint for presentation to him a portrait of Col. Francis Kinloch Huger, his would-be rescuer and quondam fellow prisoner at Olmutz, and for the City of Charleston one of La Fayette himself. Of these the Marquis, after his return to France, wrote to Col. Huger a letter: "Your admirable miniature portrait, while it every day excites my gratitude to the City Council, and the feeling interest of all newcomers to La Grange, has also produced another kind of excitement among the artists of Paris. It is an additional obligation I have to Mr. Fraser. I am proud to show this beautiful specimen of American Art; my patriotic feelings on the occasion have had full enjoyment.

"You know I have sat also for Mr. Fraser, to whom, when you see him, I beg you to present my friendly and grateful compliments."

To General Youngblood on 30th December, 1826, La Fayette wrote:

"Remember me to your good Intendant (Samuel Prioleau). Mr. Fraser's admirable portrait of my friend and benefactor, Huger, is considered a very high specimen of the state of the arts in the United States. Be pleased to present my compliments to him."

Fraser's miniature of La Fayette still worthily holds its place among the historic portraits that hang in the City Hall of Charleston. It is here reproduced for the first time.

Fraser painted professionally for thirty-eight years and his pictures form almost a pictorial history of Charleston and its people.

At a loan exhibition of his work, held in Charleston in 1857, as appears from his own copy of the catalogue, which I have before me, there were shown no less than three hundred and thirteen miniatures and one hundred and thirty-nine oil paintings and sketches. These were chiefly lent by residents of South Carolina and Georgia, but some of them came from Massachusetts and Connecticut. His oil paintings, which were principally landscapes and genre pieces, were well thought of, but he is chiefly known for his miniatures.

Glancing over the Catalogue, nearly every name reminds us of some pleasant social or historical association. James L. Petigru, the great wit and lawyer; Keating Simons, who had served on Marion's staff; William D. Porter, for so long President of the South Carolina Senate; Chancellor De Saussure of the South Carolina Bench, who as Director of the Mint under Washington had first carried to the first President "a handful of gold eagles" of the new coinage of America; Governor James Hamilton of South Carolina, a chief leader of the Nullifiers of 1832; Major Elnathan Haskell of the Continental Line of Mass.; John Blake White, who painted the well-known picture of General Marion feasting the British officer on sweet potatoes; Judge Langdon Cheves, who was of the United States House of Representatives in 1814, and in 1819 was President of the Bank of the United States; Robert Y. Hayne, whose speeches with those of Webster in the Senate have been declaimed by thousands of emulative American school boys of the last century; John McPherson Pringle, a son of James Reid Pringle, who bore the name of his grandfather, General McPherson, one of the most conspicuous figures in the history of the turf in South Carolina—these names cannot but arrest the eye. But there are many others quite as noticeable.

The group of seven Gadsdens includes General Christopher Gadsden of the Continental Line, whose biography would leave little to be written of the Revolutionary struggle in South Carolina; the Right Rev. Christopher Gadsden, Bishop of South Carolina; and James Gadsden, who negotiated with Mexico in 1853 the Gadsden purchase of forty-five thousand square miles which finally settled the question of the boundary line.

Twelve Horrys, Branfords and Shubricks—some copies and some originals—formed an interesting group. Among these was Colonel Peter Horry, who rode with Marion from 1780 to the end



JAMES MCPHERSON PRINGLE
Painted in 1834



MRS. JAMES H. LADSON, NÉE FRASER
Painted in 1826



MRS. SAMUEL PRIOLEAU
Painted in 1818



EDWARD COTESWORTH RUTLEDGE,
U. S. N.
Painted in 1818



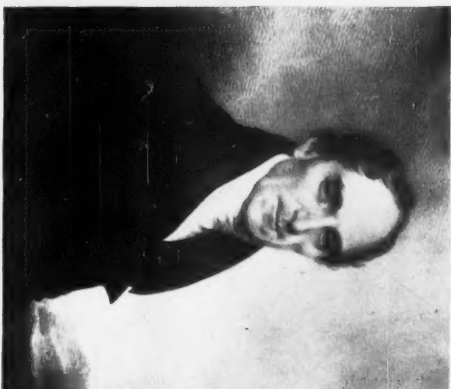
MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE—1825



MRS. WILLIAM ALSTON

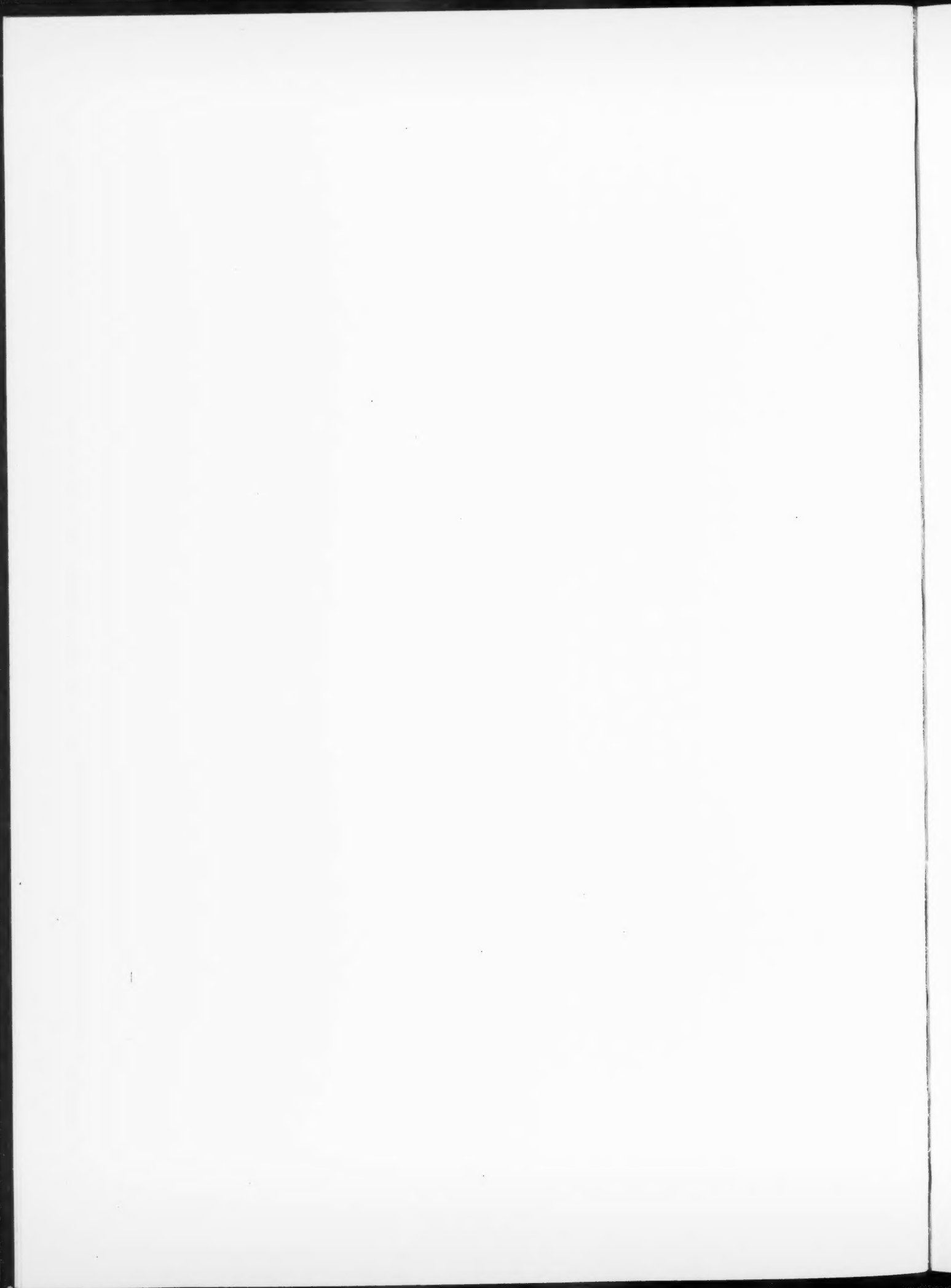


MISS CAMPBELL—1830



FRANCIS K. HUGGER—1825
Collection of Mr. R. T. H. Halsey, New York

CHARLES FRASER: MINIATURES.



of the war, but who *did not write* Horry's Life of Marion by Weems.

Born during the Revolution and dying in 1860, the men of the Revolution in Fraser's youth still dominated his City and State. In his old age he saw the growth of the manhood which carried on the great struggle between the Northern and Southern States. Indeed he stood, as he himself says, "upon the line where the old and the new order met." In his "Reminiscences of Charleston," published in 1854, he tells us how much he owed to his intercourse with the men who had proved equal to the duties of the Revolution, and had laid the foundation of the new social and political system. These Reminiscences will always excite interest. In them he tells of a prophetic conversation in his presence in 1816, "between two eminent men, opposed to each other in their whole public career," who regretted as a necessary result of the events then passing the "extinction of the old constitutional division of parties, for, if any should afterwards arise, it would inevitably be sectional."

Mr. Fraser's literary ability and taste were both highly developed, and there remain many productions of his pen to prove this excellence. He was a conspicuous figure in the social life of Charleston, and he numbered among his friends most of those who made a mark upon its history.

THE MAN WITH THE WINEGLASS BY DIEGO VELAZQUEZ · BY AUGUST L. MAYER

THE last years have brought to light a considerable number of paintings by Velazquez of all his periods. These works, most of them entirely unknown, some rediscovered after a long disappearance, belong nearly without exception to the category which procured for him his popular glory: they all are portraits. To-day I can present another original picture by the greatest genius of Spanish Art, also as good as unknown until now to the friends and students of Spanish painting, but not a portrait. It is a *genre* picture in the taste and style of Frans Hals and affine to the art of this great humorist and impressionist of the Dutch painters: The Man with the Wineglass. A laughing man, life size, half-length, holding a wineglass with red wine in his left hand which is covered with a long, yellowish glove. It comes from the collection of Sir Prior Goldney, Bart., Derriads, Chippenham, and was exhibited

at Bristol, in 1893. It is without doubt an original work by Diego Velazquez. It must have been painted about 1623, that is to say shortly after his arrival in Madrid. It has no more the very brownish flesh tints, so characteristic of the early Sevillian works, and it is already freer, and more original in technical execution. Witness the marvelously painted glove, which had given for long time to the picture the name "The Man with the Glove," and which can only be compared with gloves painted by Frans Hals and Rembrandt. Every amateur and scholar will admit that the model of this picture is the same as in the "Geographer" in the Museum in Rouen, and as there are also some resemblances in the composition, we will explain the historical, artistic, and chronological position and value of these two pictures.

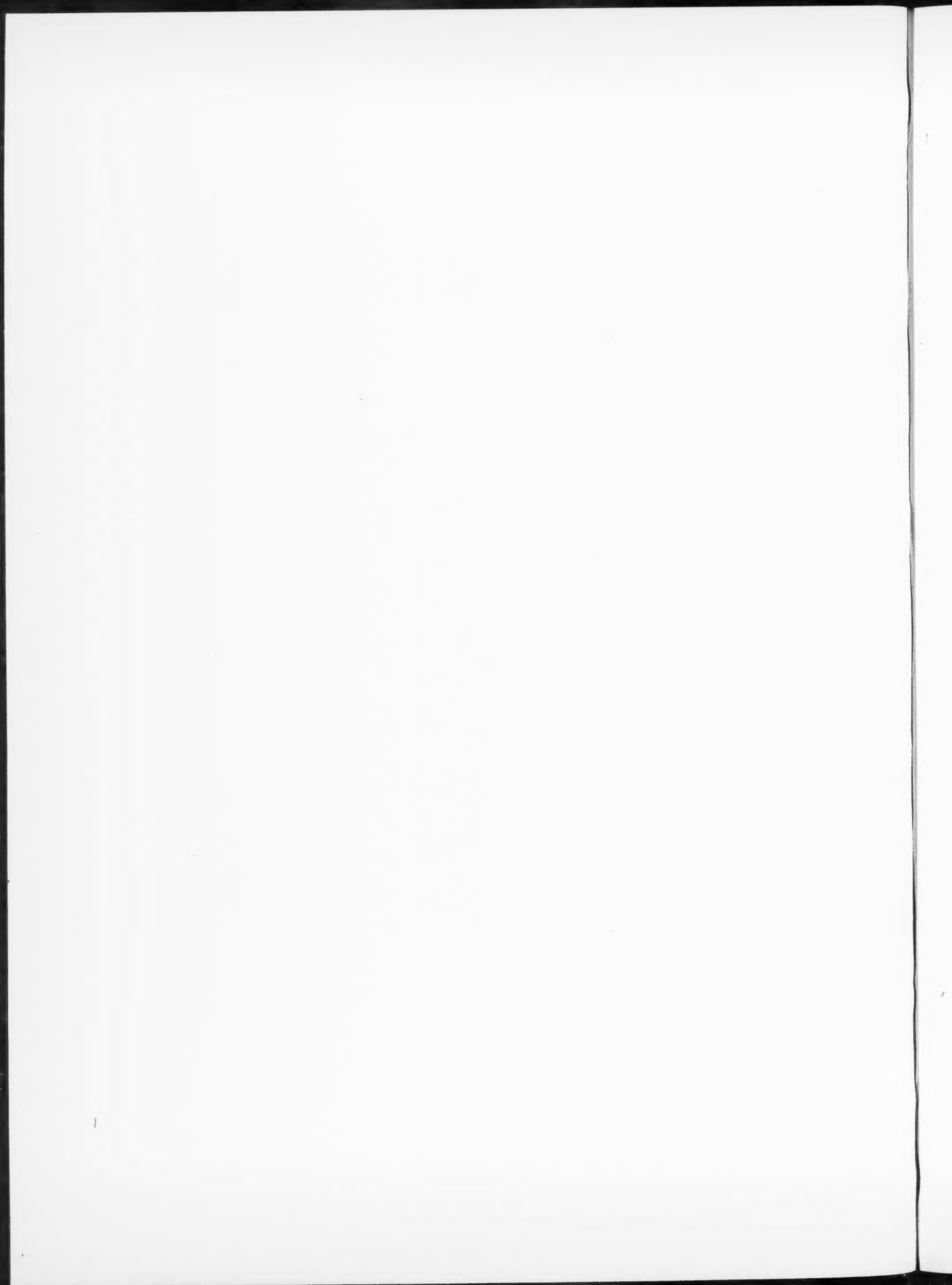
The Rouen picture is generally and rightly considered a genuine work by Velazquez, painted about 1623-1625. Noticeable is the great difference in technical execution between the head and collar on one side, and the remaining part of the picture on the other. Face and collar show not only a thicker "impasto" (this would not be so decisive, as the most early works of Velazquez are painted with a rather thicker impasto), but also a much freer and bolder brushwork, quite different from the more timid manner which the picture reveals in its other parts. We refer especially to the shyly, timidly foreshortened little book on the table, and to the pointing hand, which is articulated a little lamely with the not too happily foreshortened arm. The idea of the picture is not clear, at least at first sight, and its humour remains a little forced.

Quite another thing is the English picture. It appears not only more convincing and clearer from the first moment, but shows all its advantages just in those parts which are different from the Rouen picture. This is of the highest importance, for a pupil or imitator is always weaker than the master, and betrays himself in such variations. But here the variations are not only very interesting, intelligent, and attractive, but also marvelously executed.

The English picture in its present condition appears a little smaller than the Rouen example. It is cut off under the right hand. The man wears no mantle. The contour of the costume on the right side under the collar is much more vigorous than in the Rouen example. (That which in the Rouen picture seems to be a "pentimento" on the left side of the costume has another explanation: the master



DIEGO VELAZQUEZ: THE MAN WITH THE WINEGLASS.
Property of Duveen Brothers, New York.



has scratched away the color in order to give more relief to the body.)

In the English example every thing is stronger in line and clearer in modelling. The line in the neck shows a bend which is not present in the Rouen picture. Also in the painting of the collar, and the small white slit in the sleeve, we find a greater clearness and definiteness in the English example. The head in the English picture appears to be bent more forward than in the French picture, and thereby to contribute to the charm of the whole. This man says laughingly "Your health," and naturally makes a little compliment in doing so. Chin and cheeks in the English example are much better modelled than in the Rouen example, in which also the eyes appear softer and less decided in expression.

I believe that the English example was painted by Velazquez, a little later than the French picture in its first state. That is to say, the French picture was repainted after the English picture was finished. One can not say with certainty that the French picture had originally the same model for the head as now. Probably the head has been entirely changed in repainting the picture, by taking the model for the head from the English example.¹

It seems that Velazquez' "Man with the Wineglass" once pleased the Madrid amateurs because there exists still an old copy of the picture in an English private collection, executed by a second class painter of the Madrid school of the seventeenth century.

I said already in the introduction of this article, that Velazquez approaches here nearer to Frans Hals than in any other work, especially in regard to the technique. But it is interesting to state, that this ideal of brushwork-virtuosity, pursued and maintained by Hals during his whole life, was for Velazquez only a problem of a transitional period in his youth. The lusty humour and his noisy laugh, which he brought with him from the joyous Capital of Andalusia, his gay native town Seville, disappears relatively soon after his definitive change of residence to Madrid: "The Man with the Wineglass," the "Portrait of a Priest" in the Collection of Mr. Huntington, Los Angeles, and "The Borrachos" in the Prado are the three works in which Velazquez' Sevillian humour latest appears.

¹ That the head was repainted later by the master, has already been observed quite correctly by the late Don Aureliano de Beruete.

TWO UNPUBLISHED WORKS OF BENEDETTO DA ROVEZZANO · BY ALLAN MARQUAND

ABOUT twenty years ago I purchased from Signor Stefano Bardini of Florence the frieze decorated with scrolls represented in Fig. 1. The other frieze (Fig. 2), adorned with cupids and hippocampi, was in Signor Bardini's possession at the same time. He assured me that both were purchased from a palazzo on the corner of the Via dei Benci and Corso dei Tintori, and adorned mantelpieces made by Benedetto da Rovezzano; also that a magnificent capital and some consoles by the same sculptor still remain in the same palace. This palazzo is now owned by Mr. Herbert P. Horne.

Benedetto da Rovezzano was a sculptor who carried over into the sixteenth century the grace and refinement which characterized the best Florentine work of the second half of the fifteenth century. Although reflecting at various periods of his life the influence of Civitali, of Giuliano da Sangallo, and of Andrea Sansovino, he seems to have escaped the influence of Michelangelo, who held so many sculptors under his sway.

The definitely known works of Benedetto are few in number. He is known particularly as a sculptor of tombs. In 1502 he signed a contract for a very elaborate tomb for Louis XII of France. In 1506 he began for the monks of Vallombrosa the tomb of St. Gualbertus, fragments of which are preserved in the Museo Nazionale, Florence. Soon after November 12, 1507, when Oddo Altoviti died, Benedetto made his tomb in SS. Apostoli. In 1512 he made the tomb of Pietro Soderini in the Church of the Carmine. In 1527 he began a magnificent tomb for Cardinal Wolsey, the sarcophagus of which now serves for Lord Nelson's tomb in St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

In all these works Benedetto proved himself to be a skilful architect and master sculptor, a creator of new decorative motives. It may be noted that in these tombs some of the earlier principles of decoration are abandoned. Here there is no representation of the Madonna, no angels, no cardinal or theological virtues. In the tomb for Louis XII there were in all twenty-six figures, some of saints standing in niches, but in the later tombs even these were abandoned. Classic motives, general decorative designs, and emblems of death are substituted.



BENEDETTO DA ROVEZZANO: DECORATIVE PANELS.
The upper one at Bardini's, Florence; the lower in the collection of Allan Marquand, Princeton, N. J.



In the early sixteenth century the best sculptors were employed for secular rather than for ecclesiastical purposes. The owners of palaces now called upon sculptors to decorate mantelpieces and fountains, or to add charm to architecture by the ornamentation of columns and entablatures. Vasari tells us of two mantelpieces made by Benedetto da Rovezzano. The one for the Borgherini palace is now in the Museo Nazionale, and a copy of it in the house of Mr. Stanley Mortimer at Roslyn, Long Island. The other was made for Bindo Altoviti; its whereabouts is unknown. In the Borgherini mantelpiece Rovezzano seems to have been inspired to some extent by the beautiful mantelpiece made by Giuliano da Sangallo for the Palazzo Gondi. Both have broad friezes adorned with classic themes, pilasters decorated with trophies, and supporting members covered with foliated arabesques.

The two friezes we here publish were doubtless taken from somewhat simpler mantelpieces than that of the Borgherini palace, but we may well restore them to our imagination with similarly decorated three-quarter columns and architectural members of somewhat similar style. The date of the Borgherini mantel is unknown, but was probably earlier than the two mantelpieces from the Via dei Benci palace. These are more closely allied with the works of Rovezzano's later years: with the niches from the Palazzo Cepparello, now in the Museo Nazionale; with the altar of St. Dionysius, in the Trinità; and with the portal of the Badia. In these works, which approximate the style of Andrea Sansovino, we find many detailed resemblances to our friezes; similar putti, cornucopias, vases, and scrolls, the branches of which shoot through disk-like flowers and revolve around finely undercut leaves and flowers and send forth delicately gyrating tendrils which end in flower buds or seedpods or sprays of wheat. No draughtsman with his silver point or pen could show a surer hand than that which wielded the chisel in this beautiful scroll work.

The winged putti setting fire to thunderbolts, and the dolphins whose tails are tied together beneath vases of fruit, are much more beautiful than the similar dolphins tail-tied between vases of flowers on the frieze which Rovezzano carved for the portal of the Badia. These two friezes, therefore, must take a high rank among the decorative works of Benedetto Rovezzano.

BOTTICELLI'S PICTURE OF THE MIRACLES OF ST.
ZENOBIUS IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM · BY
J. P. RICHTER

THE picture by Botticelli in the Metropolitan Museum representing three miracles of Saint Zenobius (No. B. 652), admirably described and discussed in a scholarly way by Mr. B. Burroughs in the Bulletin of the Museum (October, 1911), is, as he has stated, one of a series of four panels of approximately the same size. Of these one is in the Dresden Gallery, and two are in the Mond Collection in London. The original destination of the panels has long been a puzzle. In my description of the two in the Mond Collection in the Catalogue of that collection (London, 1910), published before the discovery of the picture now in the Metropolitan Museum, I said in a passage quoted by Mr. Burroughs: "The original destination of Botticelli's panels is unknown; their size and character makes it likely that they were designed to decorate some large piece of furniture destined to contain clerical vestments, which probably stood in the sacristy of some church especially connected with the cult of St. Zenobius, very likely in that of the Duomo itself, or, perhaps, in a room in the neighboring Archbishop's palace." As a result of researches which I have recently been able to make, I can now throw further light on this interesting question.

Baron C. F. von Rumohr, a distinguished art critic, born in 1785, who resided in Florence for several years, where he was occupied with the study of Italian painting, was also a collector of works of art. In the second volume of his "*Italienische Forschungen*," published in 1827, he mentions incidentally a picture by Botticelli—painted on panel, representing two scenes of the end of the life of St. Zenobius—which he says he bought years ago for a friend who afterwards sold it to Herr von Quandt, a collector living in Dresden. This last information enables us to identify the picture once bought by Baron von Rumohr with the one representing that subject in the Dresden Gallery, as it is known to have come from the Quandt Collection. The important point in Baron von Rumohr's short remarks on it is the information he gives about its original destination. He tells us that the picture came from the *Compagnia di San Zenobio*. Now, since the picture of the life of Saint Zenobius in the Metro-

politan Museum is part of a series in which the whole life story of the patron saint of Florence was depicted, the early part of which is shown on the two panels in the Mond Collection, and again, as all four pictures are approximately of the same size, it follows that all four were originally set up in the same locality, that is, in the residence of the Compagnia di San Zenobio.

Religious confraternities named after different saints were very numerous in Florence during the Middle Ages. They were at the same time the centres of political parties, especially during the fifteenth century, and as such mostly in opposition to the Medici. One of the foremost was the Compagnia di S. Zenobio to which reference is made in numerous documents still preserved in the State Archives in Florence. I have lately searched these with the object of elucidating the history of Botticelli's pictures painted for that confraternity. The earliest records of its constitution and rules bear the date 1326. The rules were altered in 1508, and again in 1553. I have carefully searched the large volume containing documents about legacies received by the company from its members. They testify to its riches in houses, mostly let out on lease, and in land property in the neighborhood of the town. Their dates extend from the year 1368 to 1754. With the same object I have searched the numerous contracts as well as the miscellaneous records of that company, but in vain. The business of the company was no doubt always carried on in a thoroughgoing way, but the perusal of the papers still preserved shows that many documents have gone astray in the course of time. The date of the contract for painting the pictures in question, if found, would have special interest, as this is still a debated question. I consider them to be early works of the master, while other authorities place them at the end of Botticelli's life.

Under the late date of February 4, 1739-40, there is an inventory preserved of "all the fixtures and moveable objects to be found in the house situated in the district of S. Ambrogio, the property of the venerable company of St. Zenobius." This inventory testifies to the decay and poverty into which the company had fallen by that time. There are no fine works of art among the many indifferent objects it enumerates. Half a century later, during the Napoleonic times, the company with all the other similar institutions ceased to exist.

At an earlier date F. L. del Migliore gave a short account of the

company which at that time was installed in a building close to the Campanile of the Florence Cathedral. "Firenze, città nobilissima, illustrata" is the title of his book, published in 1634. Several pictures are mentioned in that account (pages 65 to 68), among them two representing miracles of St. Zenobius, but without an indication of the name of the painter. A later writer, Giuseppe Richa, gave a more detailed account of the Compagnia di San Zenobio in his "Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine" (Vol. VI, pages 107 to 114). He also mentions two paintings representing miracles of the saint and adds the information that they were executed by Domenico Ghirlandajo. Del Migliore gives a full description of the subject of one of the two pictures. One of them, he says, represents the bishop bringing back to life the son of the French lady in the Borgo degli Albizzi. In the other was depicted the blooming of a tree when touched by the bier on which the deceased saint was being carried on the shoulders of bishops from the church of San Lorenzo to the Cathedral. It is strange that these "fine pictures by Domenico Ghirlandajo" should not have been mentioned by Vasari or any other more or less competent early writer on art. The theory is therefore admissible that Richa made a mistake in attributing the two pictures to Domenico Ghirlandajo, who, having been the master of Michelangelo, was much more thought of in Florence during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than Botticelli. Such mistakes were by no means uncommon, as is evident from Milanesi's notes on Vasari. In his commentary on the life of Botticelli he refers (Vol. III, p. 327) to two publicly exhibited pictures by Botticelli in Florence,—one of them in the Galleria delle Belle Arti,—which up to the writer's time were assigned to Domenico Ghirlandajo.

The full description of one of the two "fine pictures" seen by Del Migliore and by Richa in the house of the confraternity of St. Zenobius answers perfectly one of the two now in the Mond Collection. The subject of the other, however, the Burial of the Saint, is depicted in none of the four panels of the Life of St. Zenobius now known, but it is, I believe, very likely that by such a representation Botticelli brought the story to an effective close, considering the great popularity which the incident, recorded in several pictures in various Florentine churches, enjoyed and still enjoys among the Florentines. Possibly Botticelli's representation of the subject,

a companion picture to the one in the Metropolitan Museum, still exists and may be rediscovered unexpectedly.

The building in which Del Migliore and Richa found the two pictures was the residence of the Capitani of the company. Its place is now taken by the residence of the Canons of the Florence Cathedral. The other paintings of the life of St. Zenobius by Botticelli may have been preserved for some time in the building occupied by the company in the district of St. Ambrogio. If so, they must have disappeared from there before the compilation of the inventory above referred to. Only so much seems to be certain now, that their *provenance* was still known when Baron von Rumohr, in the early years of the nineteenth century, acquired one of the series, the panel now in the Dresden Gallery. Further researches or discoveries will, I hope, elucidate still better the history of Botticelli's paintings for the Confraternity of Saint Zenobius.

COMMUNICATION

TO THE EDITOR OF ART IN AMERICA:

SIR—As my name has been mentioned in Mr. W. Roberts' interesting note, on a so-called Turner of "Winchester Cross," in your April issue, I shall be obliged if you will kindly allow me to make a few remarks on the subject.

Mr. Roberts says that the publication of my "Inventory of the Drawings of the Turner Bequest" enables us to fix the approximate date of this picture. With all due respect for Mr. Roberts' industry and extraordinarily wide knowledge of many branches of art of which I know nothing, I must say that my "Inventory" does nothing of the kind. It proves that a certain sketch-book of Turner's, now in the National Gallery, which contains several sketches of Winchester—one of them of the Butter Cross—must have been in use in the year 1795. But there is no evidence to connect this sketch of Turner's with the oil painting which you reproduce in your April number. This painting of the Cross is not based on Turner's sketch—as reference to the reproduction of the sketch in "The Annual of the Walpole Society," vol. I, plate xxiv(a), proves; and the condition of the Cross in the painting is very much more dilapidated than when Turner sketched it. And so far as I know Turner never sketched the Cross except on this one occasion in 1795—at least there is

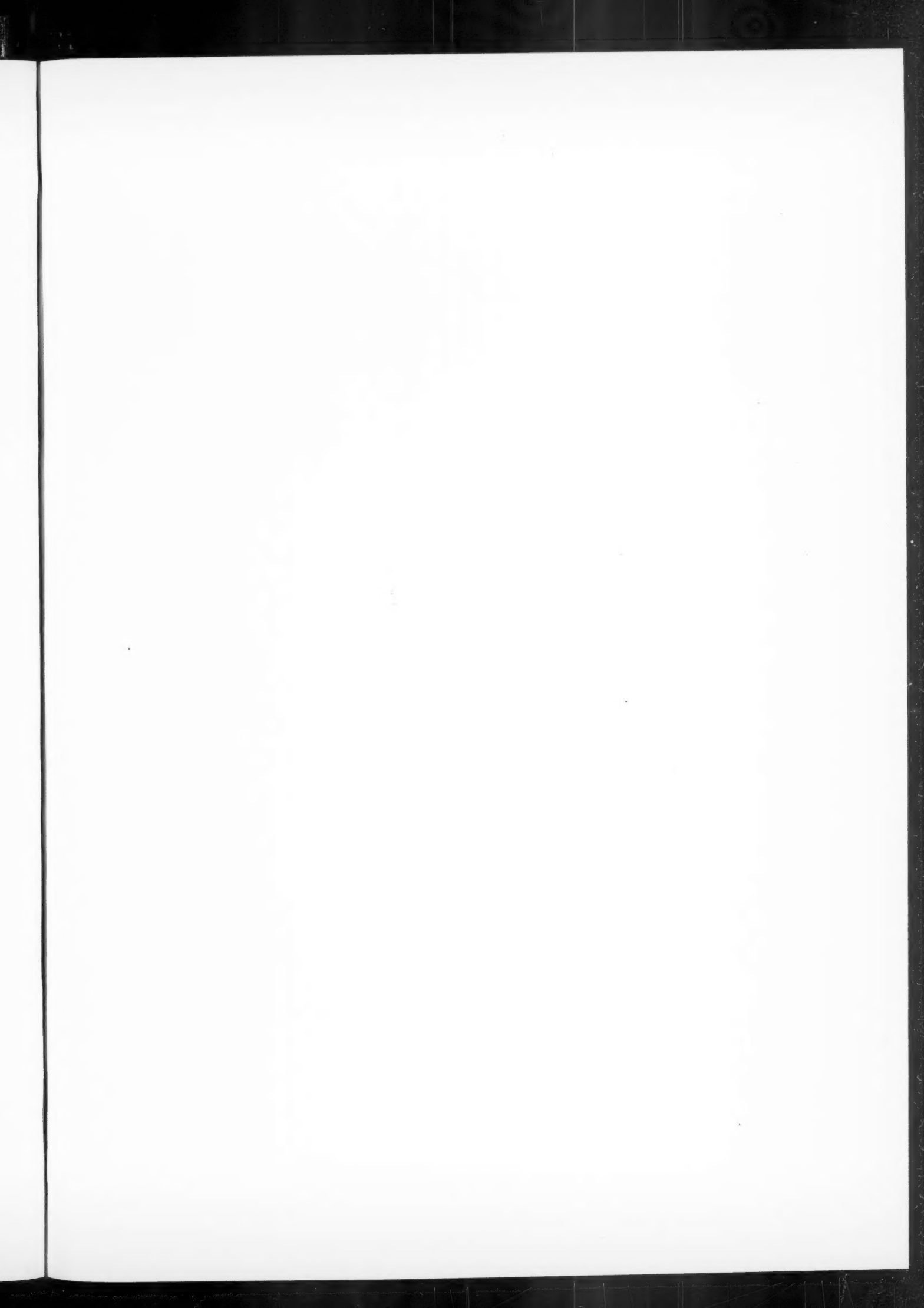
certainly no other drawing of it in the almost complete series of his sketches from nature in the National Gallery.

Nor is there any internal evidence in Mr. Johnson's painting to suggest that it was painted by Turner. When the picture was in London in 1905, I had several opportunities of examining it carefully. Neither in design nor in workmanship does it bear the faintest resemblance to any of Turner's authentic paintings of any period. It may be by Reynolds, or by Chardin, as the article in *The Burlington Magazine* quoted by Mr. Roberts seems to suggest, but I have no hesitation in affirming that it is certainly not by Turner.

Your obedient servant,

ALEXANDER J. FINBERG.

47 Holland Road, Kensington, W.,
24th May, 1915.





HOLBEIN : PORTRAIT OF THOMAS CROMWELL
COLLECTION OF MR. HENRY CLAY FRICK

